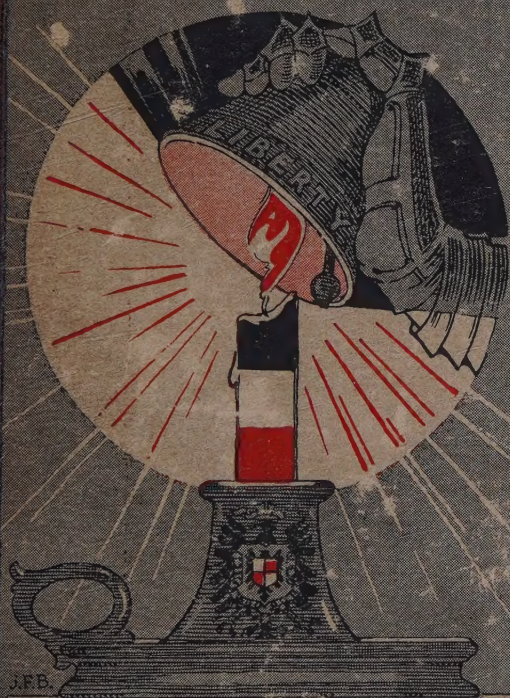

The RIGHT TO FIGHT



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THE RIGHT TO FIGHT

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The Moral Grounds of War

George

SHERWOOD EDDY

*Author of "With Our Soldiers in France," "Suffering
and the War," "The Students of Asia," etc.*



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INTRODUCTION

The writer's indebtedness to many authorities and sources is great, especially in Part II. He wishes to acknowledge his gratitude to several friends who have read parts of the manuscript: to Dean Charles R. Brown, of Yale, Professor H. H. Horne, and Dr. William Adams Brown, who have read the manuscript of Part I on the moral problem of war, and who have made helpful suggestions: and to Professor J. A. James, of Northwestern University, and Professor Robert W. Rogers, of Drew Theological Seminary, who have read portions of the manuscript of Part II.

The writer does not however hold any one, or any organization, responsible for the opinions expressed in this book. He has been hard pressed and sorely perplexed by the problem of the ethics of war and many an hour of anxious thought has been given to it in the fields of France, within sound of the guns.

New York, July 4, 1918.

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PART I

THE MORAL GROUNDS OF WAR

PART I

THE MORAL GROUNDS OF WAR

THE war has compelled us not only to fight, but to think. It has challenged our former theories and habits of life. It confronts us with vast problems, ethical, social, and political. This book is the result of questions which forced themselves upon the writer's mind while in the war zone.

The first question that arose was, Whatever may be America's right or Germany's wrong, is it ever right to fight? How can the organized destruction and horrors of war be reconciled with Christian ethics? On the one hand, we seem to be forced to the conclusion, on grounds of reason, of human experience, and of history, that the forcible protection of a state by war becomes at times a moral obligation. On the other hand, is this position contrary to the high principles of Christian morality? If so, how can this contradiction be reconciled?

Every nation is confronted at times with the possibility of conflict with other nations, and every thinking man is faced with the ethical problem of war. He asks himself if war is ever justifiable, and if so under what conditions. Should Christians contemplate passively and without forcible resistance the destruction of the lives of their fellow-citizens or the invasion of their country, or are they permitted on a basis of Christian morality to engage in war?

There are three different attitudes to the problem of war. *Militarism* holds that war is a biological necessity and that it is a natural and inevitable way of settling international differences. *Pacifism*, when thoroughgoing and logical, holds that all war is wrong, that we are not justified in self-defence or in the protection of even our own family, community, or nation, if it involves the taking of human life. *The Christian militant* stands for peace, based upon a law of right, supported when necessary by the use of force. He maintains that although war is a dire evil, yet, because lawless violence still exists, and men under the present conditions of society still require the restraints of law, upheld when necessary by force, the armed defence of its citizens becomes at times the moral obligation of the State.

I

Militarism usually rests upon a materialistic conception of the universe, either philosophical or practical. It maintains that the rule of nature is the struggle for existence, resulting in the survival of the fittest. Throughout the whole sweep of evolution, the progress of the biological kingdom is by warfare. Mankind also has risen by struggle, man with man, tribe with tribe, nation with nation. The individual is absolutely subject to the State, which is supreme and ultimate, for there are no higher laws to which it must conform, no higher interests with which it is concerned, no higher court to which it can appeal. As in the case of individuals, war is a biological necessity for the purification and progress of nations. Might determines right, and war must de-

cide between nations which are the fittest to survive and rule; hence war is a nation's glory and duty.

Treitschke in his "Politics" fairly states the position which has been so consistently carried out by an aggressive militarism in this war.

"The State is power, precisely in order to assert itself as against other equally independent powers. War and the administration of justice are the chief tasks of States. . . . The grandeur of history lies in the perpetual conflict of nations, and it is simply foolish to desire the suppression of their rivalry. . . . Only that State which has power realizes its own idea, and this accounts for the undeniably ridiculous element which we discern in the existence of a small State. . . . Moreover, they are totally lacking in that capacity for justice which characterizes their greater neighbors. . . . Without war no State could be. War, therefore, will endure to the end of history. . . . Most undoubtedly war is the one remedy for an ailing nation. . . . The individual should feel himself a member of his State, and as such have courage to take its errors upon him. There must be no question of subjects having the right to oppose a sovereignty which in their opinion is not moral. . . .

"When Prussia broke the Treaty of Tilsit the civil law would have pronounced her wrong, but who would dare assert that she was guilty now? . . . The slight degree of relative injustice which may possibly have attached to the German Revolution of 1866 has been brilliantly justified by 1870. . . . Thus a breach of constitutional law can, like all other human transgression, be wiped out by Time. . . . The sword will be the only

arbiter. We have learned to perceive the moral majesty of war. War, therefore, must be taken as part of the divinely appointed order. . . . We have already seen that war is both justifiable and moral, and that the ideal of perpetual peace is not only impossible but immoral as well.”¹

Brought up upon such a doctrine of the state and of war as a biological necessity, steeped in the writings of Frederick the Great and the selfish convictions of autocratic Prussian Militarism, the Crown Prince of Germany could, according to the statement of Ambassador Gerard, ardently hope for war and say that when he came to the throne there could be war, “just for the fun of it.”² It may be “fun” for him, but it is not to the maimed and crippled, the starving and dying men, nor to the seventeen million bereaved women who can have no home of their own at the end of this war. It may be fun for the kings, whose “chief industry is war,” but not for bleeding humanity that has to suffer to satisfy their ambition. War may be a final, dire necessity in self-defense, but as organized destruction it is a boundless evil, and for all who cause this offence to humanity it were better if a great millstone were hanged about their necks, and they were cast into the depths of the sea. We can never accept war as normal, nor longer permit the militarist to force this barbarity upon civilization. If we must fight let it be so that we can say, “Never again.”

¹ Heinrich von Treitschke, “Politics” (vol. 1), pages 19, 21, 34, 65, 66, 96, 105; 131; (vol. 2) 396, 598, 599.

² See statement of Ambassador Gerard, “My Four Years in Germany,” page 96.

For war is the world's last survival of barbarism. If we know what it really is we will take steps to prevent it in the future. War is retaliatory in its very nature and in the end men employ burning gas, flaming oil, and liquid fire to torture thousands, the bombing of defenseless towns and villages, the mutual endeavor to starve populations by blockade, and the killing of helpless prisoners.

To Treitschke or Bernhardi war may be heroic in the theorist's study at home, but it is "sheer hell" to a man of fine sensibilities in the trenches. Here is a description by a young English officer: "It is hideously exasperating to hear people talking the glib commonplaces about the war and distributing cheap sympathy to its victims. Perhaps you are tempted to give them a picture of a leprous earth, scattered with the swollen and blackening corpses of hundreds of young men. The appalling stench of rotting carrion, mingled with the sickening smell of exploded lyddite and ammonal. Mud like porridge, trenches like shallow and sloping cracks in the porridge—porridge that stinks in the sun. Swarms of flies and bluebottles clustering on pits of offal. Wounded men lying in the shell holes among decaying corpses, helpless under the scorching sun and bitter nights, under repeated shelling. Men with bowels dropping out, lungs shot away, with blinded smashed faces, or limbs blown into space. Men screaming and gibbering, wounded men hanging in agony on the barbed wire, until a friendly spout of liquid fire shrivels them up like a fly in a candle. But these are only words, and probably only convey a fraction of their meaning to their hearers. They shudder, and it is forgotten."

To expose the fallacy of the militarist position one has only clearly to state it, and then see it applied in the world-wide misery and suffering occasioned by the present war, which is the *reductio ad absurdum* of militarism. Scientifically it is based on a half-truth. It takes the single factor of natural selection, depending on the ruthless struggle for existence, as though it covered the whole of life; completely ignoring the higher law of altruism, cooperation, the mutual aid principle, or the struggle for the life of others. It is blind to all the loftier possibilities of life. It concentrates upon the instinct of selfishness, personal or natural, forgetting the higher laws of service and sacrifice. Centered in egotism and circumscribed by a false national circumference, it ignores the two chief factors in life—God and humanity. Today it has turned the world into a Prussian slaughter-house.

II

Strict *pacifism* maintains that all war is wrong, and that one is not justified in the armed defense of himself, his family, community, or nation, if it involves the taking of human life. We shall find that it, too, is founded on another half-truth. The pacifist position is usually based on religious grounds, upon a literal interpretation of certain aspects of the life and teaching of Jesus Christ. One writer thus states the case: "We believe that Jesus Christ faced the concrete question of war, and refused to adopt it or to sanction its use by His followers. His native land was a conquered province of the Roman Empire. The Roman governors, tetrarchs, and procurators in Palestine during the days of Jesus were cruel

and merciless tyrants. The Jewish people were eagerly expecting a military Messiah, the son of David their war hero, who would deliver them from this bondage. It is preposterous to believe that Jesus did not take into account the one method that seemed adequate to His countrymen, namely the alternative of war.

“Jesus did not, however, go to the opposite extreme and adopt an attitude of passive unconcern or docile submission. He resisted wrong with all the might and power of His being, and is indeed the world’s greatest resister. His entire life was spent in redemptive activity, and He sanctions no method that violates the law of redeeming love. The cross is the culmination of His way of life; the most revolutionary and dynamic way in all history. It is the paradox of the ages. The greatest progress of the human race has come by the way of the cross. National ideals and standards may come and go, but Jesus Christ and His principle of redeeming love and vicarious sacrifice remain the same, yesterday, today, and forever.”

It would be easy and natural here to make a hasty and sweeping generalization, as many have done, and to universalize and legalize into a hard and fast rule of life a limited number of Christ’s sayings and actions, binding the Christian to an absolute pacifism in the face of all evil and violence. But we do not so understand the spirit of Christ. We cannot imagine Him desiring the ruler of a State to stand passively by while his people are being murdered, violated, and butchered by savage barbarians, if he possessed the organized force to prevent the wanton destruction of life.

We cannot forget that Jesus Christ was unique. He alone was the world's Saviour. Our question for Christian conduct must be, not "What would Jesus do?" but "What would He have *me* do?" As the incarnation of love, Christ came to redeem the world; and the world could be saved only by a cross. His purpose was redemptive. But redemption is not the only activity of love, in Christ, or in God, or among men. Jesus is portrayed in the gospels by Himself and His followers not only as Saviour but as Judge. When brought in contact with evil, love gives itself in sacrifice to overcome it and redeem the evil one. When, however, evil remains finally impenitent before the sacrifice of good, omnipotent righteous love is called upon to judge the evil and finally, in the interest of the good of all, may be called upon to destroy it.

The New Testament represents God as love, and as the long-suffering Father of His children, but the loving Father is both the Redeemer of the penitent and the Judge and Destroyer of the impenitent. The same is true of Christ himself. If we turn to the teaching of Christ, a few individualistic passages such as, "I tell you, you are not to resist an injury; whoever strikes you on the right cheek turn the other to him as well," etc., would lead one to universalize a half truth of non-resistance to personal injury, just as the militarist has done with another half truth. But there are two hemispheres of the truth. In the context of the deepest teaching on love, a law that marks the sparrow's fall and numbers the very hairs of our head, He says of the Father's atti-

tude to the impenitent, "Fear him who can destroy both soul and body in Gehenna."

We are to forgive till seventy-times seven, but Christ says of the finally impenitent and unforgiving in the same context, "And in hot anger his master handed him over to the torturers, till he should pay him all the debt. My Father will do the same to you unless you each forgive your brother from the heart."³ In many parables He repeatedly represents both God and Himself as rendering judgment and destruction upon evil doers. He is also represented as coming again in final destruction of the wicked.⁴

Whatever may be the interpretation of Christ's injunction to His disciples to sell their cloaks and buy a sword, it is evident that His followers, including Peter as their leader, after three years of His companionship and teaching, carried swords, although they were forbidden to use them in His behalf.⁵

Although redemption is love's central purpose, the judicial and punitive function, as well as the redemptive, are shared by God and Christ and by the magistrate in human society, who "does not wield the power of the sword for nothing, he is God's servant for the infliction of divine vengeance upon evil-doers."⁶ God is love: He seeks to redeem but He must also destroy. Christ is

³ Matt. 10: 28; 18: 34, 35—all passages are quoted from Moffatt's translation.

⁴ See Matt. 18: 6, 17, 34; 21: 12; 24: 51; 25: 30, 41; II Thess. 1: 8, etc.

⁵ Luke 22: 36, 49; John 18: 10, 11.

⁶ Rom. 13: 4.

Saviour, but He is also judge and will destroy. Society must seek first to redeem, but it must also protect and if needs be in the last resort destroy.

Though war may be a temporary, it cannot be a permanent, necessity. There is a better way and we must find it. We shall probably advance beyond national violence just as we did beyond personal violence. There was a time when every man was armed and fought for himself. Then communities armed themselves in mutual defence. As civilization progressed, the force of the community was represented in the armed policeman or soldier, while the community as a whole disarmed and devoted itself to peaceful vocations for the common weal. The individual never threw away his weapon, nor could he justly be asked to do so, until the armed force of the law made personal defence unnecessary. Nations, similarly, will not disarm at the Utopian promise that no danger exists, but when international law is backed by sufficient international force to restrain the offending lawless nation and protect the rest of humanity from its violence. Whatever may be the future development in international relations, "a league to enforce peace" has been the actual method of advance in almost every primitive community, city, or nation that has entered the law and order of civilization.

It is as ignorant as it is foolish to attempt to brand all conscientious objectors as unpatriotic cowards and "slackers." There is much to be said theoretically, especially in time of peace, for the pacifist position. Its appeal lies in the frightful horror and organized destruction of war, and the noble aim of peace, which all think-

ing men desire. Nearly all of us agree that war is brutal, barbarous and out of date and that there are better ways of settling international differences which we must earnestly seek.

It would seem to the writer that there are at least three errors in the position maintained by pacifists. The first is the undue emphasis placed upon mere physical life, to the exclusion of the deeper moral issues, and in a literalism and legalism which sees absolute finality in the letter of the law, "Thou shalt not kill." This command forbidding private murder is found in the Old Testament. The writer is not speaking here of the taking of human life by judicial procedure, or by the armed defence of a nation, for in the very next chapter the death penalty is enjoined six times.⁷ The command was given at a time when it was not possible for the hearers or readers to suppose it referred to warfare, for they were enjoined to war by the same authority which commanded, "Thou shalt do no murder." There are many things more sacred than mere physical existence. If a Moslem horde falls upon Christian Europe to subject it to the sword, slavery and polygamy of Islam, it seems wrong to the pacifist to take the physical life of a single Moslem, even in defence of women and children, of humanity and a righteous cause, but not wrong to submit to the monstrous moral crimes of polygamy and slavery which follow in its train. "Fear not them that kill the body," who only change the abode of the soul they cannot touch, but rather fear the moral blight which can enslave or kill both soul and body."

⁷ Exodus 20: 13; 21: 12-29.

The second error of some pacifists is due to a bold theoretic idealism which would attain the desired end of peace without providing any adequate means of doing so. They maintain that if all men, or even all Christians, would refuse to fight, war would be impossible. They do not see that the organized use of force by the community is necessitated as long as its indiscriminate use by lawless individuals or nations continues. If bandits invade a peaceful, civilized community to destroy it, pacifists are not permitted to defend themselves; they can only fall back upon the good will of the bandits, which often does not exist, or upon a divine miracle. If Belgium had not resisted, they maintain that under certain conditions the miracle would have been wrought. Luxemburg made no resistance, but there was neither divine miracle nor human heroism nor sacrifice which helped to save the world. Miracle was confidently relied upon in the Children's Crusade against the Moslem arms, but it ended in pathetic failure and the surviving thousands were sold into slavery. The fact is God Himself uses means, employs destructive physical force, and takes physical life. He is frugal of miracle and persistent in the upholding of law.

The theorist often sees great ideals, but he does not realize the patient, plodding means which must be used to attain them. To him things are absolutely right or absolutely wrong. But there are great principles which we all accept as being morally imperative as ultimate ideals, but which often can be progressively realized only under the protection of and in cooperation with civil governments, under conditions that are not yet ideal but

painfully necessary and imperative, where the employment of force in resistance to lawlessness and crime is for the time being as morally imperative as the ideals themselves. When love reigns in all hearts the need of force will have vanished, but in the meantime we cannot wait for the millennium, but must protect the helpless women and children and the whole life of the community, whose defence is more sacred than the mere physical life of the evil-minded men who menace them. As Admiral Mahan said, "The function of force is to give moral ideas time to work."⁸

A third error of pacifism is its over-emphasis on individualism and its inadequate social sense of obligation to the community. The pacifist daily enjoys the ordered life of the nation with its security of life and property, upheld by a police force which is backed by a standing army. Yet as a conscientious objector he cannot forcibly defend the nation whose armed protection he continues to enjoy. The pacifist usually fails to make any adequate provision for the State, or its defence and maintenance.

Pacifism seems to be a high and noble idealism which

⁸ William Temple in "Mens Creatrix" says, "The old alternatives were, 'Work a rotten system at a moral loss to yourself,' and 'Leave the world and save your soul.' But now there is a third, always recognised in practice but not always in theory—'Go and make the world a better place, even if you have to dirty your hands in the process.' And if all moral obligations spring from our membership in society, it is clear that this is not only permissible but obligatory, and that a 'cloistered virtue' may be exquisite but cannot be moral, except in so far as it is attempted in order that its influence may benefit society as a whole," page 193.

would work under ideal conditions, *if* things were different. It would work in small homogeneous groups of like-minded people all constrained by the spirit of love, as in the primitive apostolic community, or in the noble company of high-minded men under William Penn. It would also work in the millennium. But these ideal conditions are not fulfilled in the mixed communities of the real world today. It is here that we need help. The theoretical idealist withdraws just where we most need him, as did the monastics of the Middle Ages. Where has a single large community or city or nation during the last nineteen centuries been able successfully or continuously to maintain law and order without the armed policeman or the use of armed force? While the theorist waits till things are different, the rest of us must make them different by progressively realizing his ideal. There are other errors in the position of pacifism which will appear as we proceed.

III

According to the third position, that of the Christian militant, the State, under existing conditions of society, should stand for peace, based upon a law of right, supported when necessary by the use of force. The citizen who takes this position differs from the militarist in that he believes that war is a survival of a lower order of life. It should give place to arbitration and judicial procedure among nations, just as law and order have taken the place of violence and lawlessness among civilized individuals. The man who takes this position differs also from the extreme pacifist, who holds that the taking of

physical human life is always and everywhere wrong and that war is under all circumstances unjustifiable. With the pacifist he will earnestly and ardently seek peace; but he maintains that the State should make provision for the maintenance of law and order by a police force both municipal and national. In dire necessity he will regard war as right for the State, if the cause is just and if the only alternative to war is the surrender of principle, the loss of righteousness, or the infliction of greater wrong and evil than war would entail. Equally with the pacifist he takes his stand on moral and religious grounds, for he believes that to ignore or rule out religion from life is to lose its true center, its highest sanction, and its point of true perspective. He bases his position upon the following considerations:

1. The Relation of Law and Love

In the dispensation of God and the discipline of life there are two stages of development—law and love. The first represents the stage of authority, the second of freedom of spirit; the former is the stage of outward constraint, the latter of inward restraint; the one is a period of preparation and the other of fulfilment. Law and love, however, are not contradictory, but complementary. Both are eternal, even as righteousness and love are eternal in the very nature of God. Law, which in its highest form is the expression of righteousness, represents the demand of the moral order as reflected in the conscience of man. Love should be the true motive of all just law and law is finally fulfilled only by love. But though love fulfils, it does not abrogate law.

Righteousness still remains the demand of the moral law. However much we may love, we cannot allow individuals or communities which are both lawless and loveless to dominate men with their evil will. Love is not a mere sentiment, nor does it do away with the eternal moral demand of law. It is not antinomian license, but it both fulfils and is morally bound to demand the fulfilment of all just law.

For thousands of years man's development has proceeded along two parallel lines, the one civil and the other religious—through a State and a Church. The State is the community organized for civil and secular ends; the Church is the community organized for religious purposes. Through savagery, barbarism, and civilization, man's progress has been achieved by means of his civil and religious sanctions and experience. We send the child for six days to the secular or state school, and on the seventh day to the religious Sabbath or Sunday school. The individual grows up with a dual obligation, to man and to God, as a citizen to keep the law of the State, and as a member of a religious community to keep the law of God.

2. The Relation of Jesus to the State

Christ stated that He had come not to destroy the law, but to fulfil its moral demands by the inward motive of love. He did not attempt to legislate by hard and fast rules of conduct, as by the constraint of law in the past. He seeks by His teaching and example to infuse the love of God as the radiating center of all life, that all His

followers may be controlled by this motive of good will in the service of God and man. The Christian accepts righteous love as the central and controlling law of all his life.

Jesus' teaching was chiefly personal, with social implications. He assumed or tacitly accepted large and important spheres of life with which He did not interfere—political, social, economic, legal, educational, etc. He simply founds a spiritual kingdom of love, which will in time permeate and transform all of the relationships of life.

Jesus seems tacitly to accept the State as an established fact of constituted authority for human welfare. He indignantly resented the charge that His teaching implied civil disloyalty. He Himself kept the laws, both religious and civil. He commanded men to render their due both to Cæsar and to God. "The things that are Cæsar's" would seem to imply not only formal taxes, but good citizenship and obedience, in so far as the claims of the State do not conflict with the claims of God.

This dual obligation taught by Christ is expanded by the Apostle Paul in Romans 13:1-7.⁹ On the one hand

⁹ Moffatt's translation is as follows: "Every subject must obey the government-authorities, for no authority exists apart from God; the existing authorities have been constituted by God. Hence anyone who resists authority is opposing the divine order. . . . The magistrate is God's servant for your benefit. . . . A magistrate does not wield the power of the sword for nothing, he is God's servant for the infliction of divine vengeance upon evil-doers. You must be obedient, therefore, not only to avoid the divine vengeance but as a matter of conscience, for the same reason as you pay taxes—since magistrates are God's officers,

the Christian is under the personal religious obligation to love all men, to exact vengeance upon none, and to overcome evil with good. On the other hand, he is under the civil obligation of obeying the State unless its claims conflict with the claims of God. The State is upheld by the sword of justice, that is, by judicial force, for the protection of citizens, for the punishment of criminals and law-breakers, and for the preservation of civil law and order. There is no difference in principle between the judicial sword of the magistrate, the policeman's revolver, and the soldier's weapon of defence upon the nation's border.

3. The Relation of the Christian to the State

The State remained necessary even after the coming of Christ. The majority were not in the past, and are not in the present, governed by the higher motive of moral love, or avowedly subject to the rule of God. While the immediate rule of God in a theocracy may be the ideal, presumably the State will be necessary as long as there is an imperfect, developing, and mixed humanity, both good and bad, some subject to the inward restraint of love, living for the welfare of others, and some subject only to the outward and forcible constraint of law. Law will be necessary as long as there are lawbreakers; and there will be lawbreakers as long as there are unregenerate, or uneducated or imperfect men or untrained youths remaining in a nation. No large civilized com-

bent upon the maintenance of order and authority. Pay them all their respective dues, tribute to one, taxes to another, respect to this man, honour to that."—Rom. 13: 1-7.

munity has ever been able permanently to dispense with the State, upheld by law and backed by force.

The use of force is neither moral nor immoral in itself. It derives moral quality only from the end in view, and from the spirit and method attending its use. It is used constantly in the family, the community, and the nation. Destructive force is employed by God in His providence, and was necessary not only under the Old Testament law of the past, but will be also, according to the teaching of Christ, in the final consummation of judgment in the future. God's motive and end is perfect love. By evil men for a selfish and destructive purpose the use of force is wrong; but used by good men for a good purpose the same use of force may be right.

It has always been held as a common moral judgment of humanity that it is a primal duty of the State to protect the life and promote the welfare of its citizens. Human life, as the most priceless possession and trust of the State, must be safe-guarded and not wantonly sacrificed. It is difficult to conceive of any moral obligation of government whatever if the State is not responsible for guarding the lives of its citizens. And if the State must protect its citizens from criminals within its boundaries, it must also from criminal individuals or communities without. The alternative of such protection under present conditions would be nihilism.

Let us not ask "What would Jesus have done in a remote age?"—a thing which none of us can prove or dogmatically assert, in seeking to force our own intuitions concerning Him upon other men—but let us ask,

“What should a Christlike man do under present conditions?” For illustration, let us imagine a Christian President of the United States confronted by the problem of evil as it is today.

He is under a single moral standard, but he has a dual function and obligation. He is both an individual and a part of the social organism; he is a member of the Church and an official of the State; he is governed by the personal motive of love, but he is also an executive of law, which is the very foundation of the nation's life.

If, as an individual Christian, he is confronted and opposed by an evil man, whether a friend or an enemy, he will seek to overcome his evil with good and if necessary will sacrifice his own life to do so. If, likewise, he personally is opposed by evil in the nation—let us say by the organized evil of intemperance or vice—he will be ready even to lay down his life as did Lincoln, Garfield, or McKinley at the hands of evil men.

But now let us suppose three cases where the same Christian man is called upon to act as a citizen, an official, and an executive of civil law. If an evil man enters his home to murder his child or violate his wife, he is still ready to sacrifice his own individual life. But as the father and guardian of his home the motive of love for his family and even for the evil man will lead him, if moral suasion has failed, to prevent at any cost, certainly at the cost of mere physical existence, whether his own or the criminal's, the commission of so monstrous a crime.

Or, to take a second instance, suppose this same Christian President is confronted by an invasion by armed

bandits across the Texas border, and they advance upon Washington threatening the overthrow of national law and order. Will the moral judgment of normal men hold that because he is a Christian, the President cannot defend, with all necessary force, the lives of the citizens whom he has sworn to protect? If he defends the border a number of bandits and some of our own soldiers will be sacrificed; but if he does not do so, thousands will be killed by the outlaws, as other thousands already have been killed in their own countries, where there is not sufficient organized force and good government to protect human life. Is it right or wrong to defend the right, the helpless, the needy? If a Christian cannot be President or consistently take part in the legislative, judicial, or executive functions of a State that aims to be Christian, then who can do so? Logically the pacifist must leave the State, its maintenance, leadership, and defense to non-Christians and wait for ideal conditions or the millennium. And how is that to come if no true Christian can consistently hold office?

Lastly, let us imagine a Christian President confronted by the present world situation. More than three years have been spent in every effort that moral suasion, honest diplomacy, and earnest pleading and protest could devise. The might of organized evil lifts its head, until the land is strewn with its dead and the bed of the sea with its victims, until no foot of earth or ocean is not threatened by its menace. In the meantime, while a score of other nations are struggling for liberty and right against this world menace, our own nation has grown rich and fat and materially prosperous off the spoils of war. At last

the parting of the ways is reached. Should the Christian leader of his nation let others die or sacrifice themselves and remain aloof from the world's life, in smooth content apart, or should he, supported by the whole Christian manhood of his nation, rise to help save the world by all the resources of a free people, material, financial, intellectual, moral, and spiritual?

Thus, under one standard of moral obligation and constrained by the same motive of righteous love, an individual may be called upon to sacrifice his own life for others, where the same man, in other circumstances, as a Christian executive of civil law is called upon to maintain the State, organized government, civil liberty, moral right, and Christian civilization by the whole righteous force of the nation.

To the State as a provisional necessity for man's welfare, under the providence of God, the Christian owes a loyal allegiance. Of course, his ultimate allegiance is to God. But since the Kingdom of God is both personal and social, and since it seeks to change not only the character of individuals but the relations and environment of men, the Christian must seek to leaven the State by the principles of the Kingdom. In every situation he must ask, What does righteous love require for the ultimate highest good of all?

4. The Use of Force in War

War, or the united, forcible, armed action of the State, contemplates the inevitable destruction of life and property and is a dire evil. So is an epidemic, a cyclone, an earthquake, a fire, the punishment of a criminal, or a

painful surgical operation; but an evil is not necessarily a sin. Force must be used by the State to prevent its indiscriminate use by individuals. We conclude, therefore, that as a last resort in the defense of righteousness, in upholding moral law, in the protection of human life and liberty, war is at times a moral obligation for the State.

Let us, for illustration, take one or two concrete cases in which we believe war becomes a moral obligation. Stand in imagination with Charles Martel at Tours, facing the Moslem hordes which were overrunning Europe. Nation after nation had already fallen before them. The peoples were offered the forcible acceptance of Islam or the sword. The strong died for their faith, the weak became Mohammedan. Nations thus converted by the sword have remained under the shadow of Islam to this day. The Holy Land itself fell under its sway. Where the people offered no resistance, or met the invader by prayers and tears and appeals for mercy, no pity was shown. All Europe was threatened—its womanhood, its home life, its civilization, its faith. Was it not the duty of the citizens gathered at Tours, if they could find no other way of deliverance, to stand with Charles Martel in the defense of Europe by the sword? As the Apostle Paul says, “A magistrate does not wield the power of the sword for nothing, he is God’s servant for the infliction of divine vengeance upon evil doers.”

Or, supposing in modern times, Christian nations stood by while helpless Armenia was butchered by the Turks. If all the pleadings of moral suasion, and the repeated protests of your nation’s ambassador, consuls, and mis-

sionaries were of no avail, and if you were an official of a nation which possessed the force, in cooperation with other civilized nations, to prevent the atrocities and end a barbarous rule of many centuries, would it be your duty to establish good government, or let the butchery continue indefinitely?

If the absolute pacifist is right in maintaining that all war is wrong, he must consistently apply this doctrine to life. If he is right in his extreme doctrine, the use by the State of every battleship or protective gun, of every soldier for national defense, and every member of a National Guard, is unjustifiable. If the absolute pacifist is right, every official and responsible member of the State which upholds government by use of force is participating in this wrong.

The logical pacifist must consistently regret England's long struggle for freedom and the wresting the Magna Charta of her liberty from a tyrant, by the forcible demand of armed men. He cannot uphold the armed defense of England's shores against the Spanish Armada. Had he stood in India at the time of the mutiny, after the well at Cawnpore had been filled with the bodies of English women and children dead and dying, he could not consistently have raised a hand for the forcible defense of the Empire against armed mutiny. After three thousand years of almost endless bloodshed, tribal wars, and invasions, India had at last achieved a united and just government, which, with all its faults, had established the *Pax Britannica*, with the full protection of life and property. If a defensive war is always and everywhere wrong, then John and Henry Lawrence,

Henry Havelock, Colin Campbell, and all the martyrs of the Mutiny did wrong to resist it or to strive forcibly to restore good government.

If he is an American, the consistent pacifist must feel that Washington and the men of Valley Forge did wrong in fighting for our liberty, and that the very independence and national existence of the United States are founded on the moral wrong of war. He must likewise believe that, however well-meaning he may have been, Abraham Lincoln did wrong to maintain the Union forcibly and free the slaves. If the pacifist is right, then McKinley and the nation behind him did wrong forcibly to free Cuba and the Philippines. Upon this theory our own nation and every other that has fought for liberty, justice, or righteousness, for itself or for humanity, has been unchristian in so doing, and misguided in its instinctive admiration for the heroes and patriot soldiers of the past. Our praise should go to those who submitted to monstrous wrong rather than to those who fought against it. However lofty the motives of the latter, the pacifist must oppose or condone their actions. But has the almost universal moral judgment of mankind been so misguided? For ourselves we feel under no obligation to apologize for Washington, Lincoln, McKinley, or Wilson in their fight for righteousness. We see no moral ground for repudiating the forcible founding of the nation, the preservation of the Union, the freeing of oppressed Cuba and the Philippines, or the sacrifice of lives in the present war for the maintenance of the world's liberty, law, and civilization.

Consistently, if he believes that the use of armed force

is always wrong, the pacifist should disarm every policeman, and should offer no protection to the citizens of his country against mob violence. The absolute pacifist could not consistently be president or hold any office under the government which employs armed force to protect its citizens. A corrupt man, a scheming politician, or a non-Christian may hold such office, but his conscience will not permit the logical pacifist to do so.

The practical and pragmatic test of a theory is, does it work? How does it operate when translated into the actual concrete in the modern world? The pacifist maintains that if we cannot conceive of Jesus going to war and shooting down His enemies, the whole question is settled for all time. But, on the other hand, neither can we imagine Him standing passively by while helpless women and children were violated or murdered. There are many lawful and necessary things which we cannot imagine Jesus doing so. He had three short years of public life to live and a death to die upon a cross. As we have seen, He was unique in his office as the world's Saviour. He had no call to marry or to be the father of a family, however right that might be for other men, no call to enter political life, hold office, reform the state, devote Himself to a crusade against slavery, intemperance, vice, bad government, and a host of other evils of which the world was then full. The same principle which called Him to sacrifice His life at the hands of sinful men, would call His followers in other days to sacrifice their lives in striving even unto death against other evils.

The law of righteous love should govern the State

as well as the individual. The nation should seek to the uttermost the welfare of all, up to the point where it does not wrong those entrusted to it. The aim of the Christian individual or nation is righteousness, and the result of righteousness is peace. Peace, however, is not an absolute end in itself. There are higher things than peace and there may be worse things than war. The slimy, green pool is at peace, but the storm of the sea is better. A nation may be too effete and corrupt to defend itself, and may basely accept an immoral enslavement. It may be too intent on its greed of gain to care passionately for righteousness, for the welfare of humanity, or for the principles which should be placed above life itself.

To sum up, then, force must be used up to the point where moral suasion and love become effectually operative. Upon the plane of human reason, experience, and history, we are driven to the conclusion that under existing conditions, war, as a last resort, is at times the moral obligation of the State.

We believe that the sole and simple principle of righteous love must govern the Christian at all times. *The State*, ordained of God as *the organ of law*, is under moral obligation to uphold law, to preserve order, and to protect the lives of its citizens by the still necessary use of force. *The Church*, ordained of God as *the organ of love*, exists primarily for redemptive activity. It does not exist to punish criminals, to direct sanitation, or to carry on war, however necessary these things may be. Its method is not by law but by love, not by force but by self-sacrifice, not by the thunders of Sinai, but by

the cross of Calvary, which every Christian must bear.

Our position, therefore, is not that of the militarist who knows no God above the State, nor the pacifist who sees no necessity for the forcible defense of his country, but that of *militant love, ready to sacrifice itself for the nation and the world, in the dire necessity of war in the defence of righteousness*, for the high end of the extension of the Kingdom of God, for ultimate peace on earth and good will among men.

PART II

WHY AMERICA WAS FORCED TO FIGHT

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PART II

WHY AMERICA WAS FORCED TO FIGHT

WE are facing today one of the great crises of history. We are witnessing the amazing spectacle of one nation fighting the world; a single nation under one autocratic ruler, who is not responsible to Parliament or people, who wields almost absolute control over the vast Central Empires, numbering more than 175,000,000 people in Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey. One nation has made the whole world a place of war, of mourning, and of misery. We shall find that in the secret councils and hidden intrigues of the great autocracies of the Hohenzollerns and Hapsburgs, this war was launched upon the world, forced upon suffering humanity without the vote or voice, without the knowledge or consent, of the people of the Central Empires.

All are familiar with the fact that the occasion of the war on the continent of Europe was found in the murder of the young Austrian Crown Prince, Francis Ferdinand. Its immediate cause lay in the revival of the old quarrel between Serbia and Austria, between the Slavs and the Teutons, between the expansion of Russia and the Balkan Slavs on the one hand, and that of Germany and Austria-Hungary on the other.

While we were striving to maintain our neutrality,

the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives had listed on its formal records twenty-one crimes and unfriendly acts committed within the United States, with the connivance of the German Government. Bridges were blown up, factories were set on fire, plots were started, bombs were placed on ships sailing from America, and the country was filled with spies.

America's whole policy and interest since the days of Washington had pointed imperatively toward peace. She stood in "splendid isolation," removed from the costly conflicts of Europe. The chief note in her foreign policy was the Monroe Doctrine, wherein she had pledged herself to defend the Western Hemisphere from foreign aggression, and in return to abstain from interfering in the political conflicts of Europe. Not until Prussian aggression became a world menace, threatening us and the Western Hemisphere, did we enter the conflict.

A second point in our policy had been the persistent effort for the substitution of judicial for military settlement of disputes. We had striven at the Hague Conferences for binding arbitration, but largely through the opposition of the German Empire and its followers, the effort to bring about treaties of compulsory arbitration failed to pass. Thwarted in this general attempt, America had concluded dual arbitration treaties with thirty leading nations. The plan was cordially welcomed by Great Britain, France, Russia, Italy, and other countries. Only Germany and Austria-Hungary, of the Great Powers, held coldly aloof. The German Foreign Minister frankly told Ambassador Gerard that such a treaty would forfeit Germany's advantage of a surprise

attack and her readiness to strike the first blow in the case of war.

After repeated warnings, President Wilson was at last forced to break off diplomatic relations, this step being taken a year and a half after the first unsatisfactory exchange of notes on the "Lusitania" crime, and six months after the sinking of the "Sussex." It followed repeated attacks on American lives and property.

The Senate and House of Representatives, after full and free discussion, in response to the President's message, passed in the early hours of April 6th, 1917, the final vote before the House, and on that day the President's signature was affixed. The total vote in the Senate and the House combined was 455 in favor of the war and 56 opposed. It was on Good Friday that Lincoln had sealed with his own great sacrifice the victory of the Civil War; and on Good Friday again, under the shadow of a cross on grounds of conscience and of principle, the United States entered the dark valley of this war.

If America was not stampeded or hurried into the war perforce, if her territory was not invaded nor immediately threatened, if materially she had nothing to gain and everything to lose by entering the war, if deliberately she faced the certain loss of her sons and of her treasure, *why then was America forced to fight?* We maintain that it was for the following ten reasons: the growing menace of Prussian militarism; a premeditated war of aggressive world conquest; the violation of Belgium against the most solemn treaty rights; the ruthless devastation of Poland; the deliberate extermina-

tion of the Armenians; persistent German atrocities; the sinking of the "Lusitania" and more than 800 neutral vessels; the repeated violation of American rights and property; the crimes of the German spy system in our own country; and the ruthless policy of indiscriminate submarine warfare, forbidding to all nations the freedom of the seas. Let us briefly examine the evidence for each of these.

1. *The Growing Menace of Prussian Militarism*

As a formulated philosophy, as a theory of the State, and as a practical working system, Prussian militarism has grown until it has become at last the world's greatest menace, the destruction of international law and of world brotherhood. Slowly and painfully through the plodding centuries, the foremost nations of the world have struggled upward. From savagery to barbarism, from barbarism to the lingering dawn of civilization, the leaders of mankind had been slowly emancipated, at a cost of great sacrifice, from slavery and oppression, from tyranny and autocracy, and at last were trying the great experiment of democracy. Yet all in a moment, the world is challenged and would be robbed of its costly gain by this savage survival of medieval Prussian militarism.

Peaceful democracy and world-conquering autocracy cannot dwell together in amity. The Moslem menace forced upon the world Islam or the sword; it claimed the allegiance of the whole earth; it had either to be accepted in defeat or conquered in victory. Charles "the Hammer" challenged its claim and delivered

Europe once and forever from its tyranny. Later Napoleon, through personal ambition, demanded a world empire to satisfy his vanity, and the world had to unite to reassert its freedom. A third and yet greater menace, not unlike that of the Moslem and of Napoleon, now threatens the world.

A combination of something like the religious zeal of the Moslem and of the military ambition of Napoleon began to appear in the Kaiser. "We Hohenzollerns," he said, "take our crown from God alone, and to God alone are we responsible in the fulfilment of duty." On another occasion he said: "Remember that the German people are the chosen of God. On me, as German Emperor, the spirit of God has descended. I am His weapon; His sword, His Vicegerent. Woe to the disobedient. Death to cowards and unbelievers!" In addressing a body of new troops, the Kaiser said: "Recruits! Before the altar and the servant of God you have given me the oath of allegiance. You are too young to know the full meaning of what you have said, but your first care must be to obey implicitly all orders and directions. You have sworn fidelity to me, you are children of my guard, you are my soldiers. *You have surrendered yourselves to me, body and soul.* Only one enemy can exist for you—my enemy. With the present Socialist machinations, *it may happen that I shall order you to shoot down your own relatives, your brothers, or even your parents—which God forbid—and then you are bound in duty implicitly to obey my orders.*"

Prussian militarism had already made itself master of all Germany. It dominated the schools, the universi-

ties, Church and State, the press, the people, and parliament. Europe had been forced to spend more than forty billion dollars in self-protection, and the growing burden of the system was now draining the best part of the life of its young manhood in forced military service. Prussian militarism now menaces the world. It claims the State and makes it supreme. It challenges international law. It holds itself independent and absolute even before the moral law, which it alone can declare and interpret. It claims not only the State, but the right to make war with every other State which thwarts its interests or resists its might.

Practically and concretely at this moment Prussian militarism claims the solid Central Empires and Turkey from Berlin almost to Bagdad. It claims Belgium, Northern France, Poland, parts of Russia and Italy, and all these only as a foothold for further conquests. It claims not only the land but the sea, and holds the right to sink any and all ships within the zone of its power. What is this State, this fetish, this idol which must be worshiped? Who is behind this mask called the State? A Hohenzollern prince, a feudal Junker aristocracy, and a military staff. But one alone has power to make war and declare peace; one alone has power to make war upon the world and he has made it. When this man says to the world, "I am Jehovah's sword; woe and death to those who resist my will;" when he not only threatens but carries out his threat of world war, he becomes a world menace, and so long as he makes this claim he stands as anti-Christ, against God, against humanity. In the light of its theory and fact, of its

proclaimed program and its actual accomplishment, can anyone deny that Prussian militarism menaced America and the world? This was our first reason for entering the war.

2. *A Premeditated War of Aggressive World Conquest*

In 1914 the time had come that was relatively most favorable to Germany for war. France had her military scandals and was disorganized with her three-year army law; Russia was weakened by the Japanese war and by internal dissension and was not ready to present a united front to any foe without, as Germany knew through her efficient spy system; England was threatened with civil war in Ireland; America was supposed to be too mercenary in her greed for gold to think of fighting, even under any indignity.

On the other hand, Germany's long preparations were more complete than ever before. The Kiel Canal had just been improved and opened in June, 1914. The great Zeppelins were ready for attack on the civil populations of other nations; poison gas had been developed to such a point that it could be used with deadly effect on a surprised and panic-stricken foe; burning oil and flame throwers were promising inventions; the newly developed heavy guns could demolish even forts like Namur or Paris within a few days. Altogether, the army was the greatest fighting machine that the world had ever seen, and Germany stood a united nation, that could be mobilized almost instantly for war.

Prussia alone was ready. Many of the French soldiers were in red trousers without war uniforms, and Paris

lay almost undefended. Russia had neither adequate guns, equipment, nor munitions for her great supply of men. England was dreaming of peace, and it took her two full years to build the munition plants and equip her forces after her "miserable little army" had been almost wiped out in the first retreat from Mons. After three full years America was only beginning to prepare for war. If Germany is the martyr nation hemmed in by a jealous world which plotted her downfall, why was she alone ready, on a war footing, and the rest of the world unprepared for her swift attack?

Not only did Prussia possess the forces; she also had incomparable plans. Anyone who will review the hundreds of books which have been written regarding her war plans will notice a growing consensus of opinion as to what those plans were. The first step was the mastery of the Ottoman Empire and the domination of the Near East; gradually Holland, Belgium, and German-speaking Switzerland were to be absorbed; the French, Dutch, and Belgian colonies should prove easy prey, and at the outbreak of the war Germany would not forfeit her hopes of securing the French colonies, even in bargaining for England's neutrality. The overthrow of Britain was the next main objective, but all of these were but steps in a well-defined plan for world dominion. Thus Professor Oswald says: "Germany should crush England, break up Russia and reduce France to vassalage."¹

¹ This is typical of hundreds of quotations that might be cited. See "Conquest and Kultur; Aims of the Germans in Their Own Words," issued by the Committee on Public Information, Washington.

It should be clearly recognized that Germany's aims had not been confined to Europe, Africa, the French colonies, or the British dominions. She had already secured a foothold in China, and in numerous writings had resented the Monroe Doctrine, which excluded her from South America. From the Crown Prince down to the private soldier or civilian, men drank to "the day" and awaited the hour when Germany's program could be carried out. The writer was in the heart of China on the day war was declared. A young German business man, called suddenly to the colors for the defence of German possessions, came to the American dentist before starting for Tsing Tao. With many others he was jubilant and said frankly that the day had come at last. "We will crush France first," he said, "and Paris will be ours within a few weeks. A large indemnity and a quick peace will leave us free to overcome Russia at our leisure. England will follow, across the channel, and then! America will be next."

3. *The Violation of Belgium*

Germany's first act in the war was the violation of Belgium, against her own solemn treaty which had guaranteed its neutrality. Her action was important because it was typical of her whole course throughout the war. Her crime was three-fold: The deliberate violation of her own treaty in Belgium, torn up as a mere "scrap of paper," the pillage and devastation of the country by almost unbelievable atrocities, the systematic impoverishment of Belgium in cold blood and the deportation of part of the civil population in practical

slavery, attested by the American minister and countless neutral witnesses.

Let us briefly examine these three charges. Belgium is important to us, not only for its own sake, but because it was the first country to fall within the clutches of Prussian militarism in the present war. As we shall see, Belgium meant the invasion of international law, the invasion of human right, the first step toward the planned invasion of Britain and America.

a. The neutrality and independence of Belgium were established by the Treaty of London in 1839. Bismarck made full use of this treaty in 1870, with the result that Germany and France entered into treaties with Great Britain to the effect that, if either belligerent violated Belgian territory, Great Britain would cooperate with the other for the defense of it. By the Treaty of London the very existence of Belgium was contingent upon its perpetual neutrality.

b. German atrocities in Belgium were so monstrous and almost unbelievable that the world was slow to accept the evidence. Several things, however, make this evidence indisputable. First of all, the German War Book, or "The Laws of War on Land," published by the German General Staff, shows what their theory of war deliberately contemplates, and what it teaches their troops to execute. It says: "A war conducted with energy cannot be directed merely against the combatants of the enemy States and the positions they occupy, but it will, and must, in like manner *seek to destroy the total intellectual and material resources of the latter*. By steeping himself in military history, an of-

ficer will be able *to guard himself against excessive humanitarian notions.*"

We find this Prussian theory of war exactly fulfilled by the placards of the German officers in their official notices to the devastated cities of Belgium, and in the records of Germany's own White Paper relating to the Belgian atrocities. The evidence goes to show that where German troops or a patrolling party were received at the entrance of a village by a volley from the retreating Belgian soldiers, or where stray shots were fired, the whole civil population was held responsible. The German claim that a "People's War," or systematic attempt of the crushed and conquered civil population of Belgium, was widely organized within forty-eight hours after Germany's sudden invasion, is incredible. Civilians were accused of having fired, and often without inquiry towns were given over to pillage and flames and a portion of the inhabitants were massacred. We do not need to take the evidence of the French, British, or even Belgians on this point. The proclamations of the German officers speak for themselves.

Carrying out these proclamations, the German army proceeded to devastate Belgium. Cities were burned, property destroyed, hundreds of hostages were seized and shot, human beings were burned alive, women were outraged, children murdered, and enormous levies were placed upon cities. At *Aerschot*, the German Captain Karge gives evidence in the German White Book and describes how he butchered eighty-eight persons without any form of trial. At *Andenne* and in its immediate neighborhood many persons were massacred and about

300 houses destroyed. At *Dinant* the soldiers of the 108th Regiment broke into the church, seized fifty of the men, and shot them. Eighty-four more were murdered in the square and almost all the men of the *Faubourge de Ieffe* were executed. More than 700 in all were killed. In *Louvaine* 176 persons, men and women, old and young, were shot or burned. The German Gruner's own figures show that eighty to one hundred were killed, "amongst them it is possible that there were some ten or fifteen priests."

The admissions of the German White Book show that they ordered groups of civilians to be executed without any form of inquiry and no mention is made of the punishment of a single German soldier inflamed by drink and lust. We do not need to peruse the painstaking inquiry of the commission under Lord Bryce nor its examination of some ninety diaries of German soldiers, where many of them contain references to their drunkenness and pillage, we do not need to go beyond German sources to find her convicted, out of her own mouth, of one of the vilest national crimes in history. The testimony of the American Ambassador Brand Whitlock and of hundreds of neutral witnesses to this crime is unimpeachable.

c. The atrocities of Germany were not confined to the fevered and frenzied first days, when the army of occupation was crazed by drink. Prussian military officers settled down in cold blood to collect \$10,000,000 a month from Belgium to pay for the army of occupation. Belgium was stripped of her machinery, robbed of her raw materials, deprived of the means of livelihood. The

total value of materials, etc., of which Belgium was despoiled reaches more than one billion dollars. All the world had to feed Belgium, and 9,500,000 of the starving population were actually fed through the American Committee under Mr. Hoover and his able associates in Belgium and northern France. The men of the civil population were first forcibly employed in labor against their own country, often of a military nature. Numbers of them were seized and deported into Germany, and that in direct violation of the Second Hague Peace Conference and even of the German War Book.

The German Staff had apparently decided to draw several hundred thousand men from Belgium. This meant that about one man in every four would be taken from the population. These men, forcibly deported into Germany, would free the German workmen for military service. There is evidence that up to January, 1917, more than 356,000 had been taken and a further number of 50,000 from Brussels alone had been deported. Many have died from their ill treatment, others have returned broken for life. In Limburg all the males from fifteen to fifty-five have been removed. Cardinal Mercier's burning protest is still ringing in the ears of humanity.²

² *Cardinal Mercier's protest against the deportation of Belgians:* "The military authorities are daily deporting thousands of in-offensive citizens in order to set them to forced labor. As early as October 19, we sent a protest to the Governor General. At that time the ordinances threatened only unemployed men. To-day all able-bodied men are carried off pell-mell, penned up in trucks and deported to unknown destinations, like slave gangs. The whole truth is that each deported workman means another soldier for the German Army. He will take the place of a German workman, who will be made a soldier. The situation which

4. *The Devastation of Poland*

In the appeal of the American Poles to the British Government, January 9, 1916, they say: "The terrors of war, visited upon the innocent, peaceful population of Poland, have been augmented by famine, pestilence, and death. One-third of a generation, the youngest, has practically ceased to exist; the remaining youth, old men, and women are now upon the threshold of actual extinction by starvation, disease, and exposure."

It is difficult to realize that the long oppressed, divided, and crushed kingdom of Poland was once stronger than Germany or Russia, and one of the leading states of Europe, with a population numbering more than 20,000,000. Falling a prey to Frederick the Great, it was finally partitioned in 1795, between Germany, Austria, and Russia.

The 3,500,000 Poles in Prussia have been subjected to severe persecution and to greater indignity than their fellow-countrymen in Russia. They have not had their own laws since 1815; their religious liberty has been restricted; and their own language has been forbidden in education, in the transaction of business, and usually even in public meetings, although the mass of the people

we denounce to the civilized world may be summed up as follows: Four hundred thousand workmen are reduced to unemployment through no fault of their own. Now, suddenly, parties of soldiers begin to enter by force these peaceful homes, tearing youth from parent, husband from wife, father from children. They bar with the bayonet the door through which wives and mothers wish to pass to say farewell to those departing. Thus thousands of Belgians are being reduced to slavery."—S. S. McClure, "Obstacles to Peace," pp. 314-316.

do not understand any other language. Prussia has been trying alternately by bribery and force to induce the Poles to sell their lands and to plant German colonists upon them.

The devastation of Poland has not been impulsive or haphazard in the heat of sudden conquest, but scientifically planned and organized with true Prussian efficiency.³

Naturally the Poles have been driven into bitter hostility toward their Prussian oppressors. More inaccessible and less known than the people of Belgium, their suffering has been far greater in the present war. The newly-conquered districts of Russian Poland have been subjected to Prussian rule by "organization." At Kalish the Prussian General summoned the mayor and members of the corporation and placed them in the street face downward, threatening them with revolvers at their heads. He subjected this city of 50,000 people to three days of bombardment. The Prussians then proceeded to wreck the machinery and destroy the shafts of the rich Polish mines.

³ Thus in advance the Germans announce: "Let us bravely organize great forced migrations of the inferior peoples. Posterity will be grateful to us. Coercion will be necessary. Such tasks are also war-tasks. Superiority of creative power is but a means." And again, "If we *take*, we must also *keep*. A foreign territory is not incorporated until the day when the rights of Germans are rooted in its soil. With all necessary prudence, but also with inflexible determination, a process of expropriation should be inaugurated, by which the Poles and the Alsations and Lorrainers would be gradually transported to the interior of the Empire, while Germans would replace them on the frontiers." (F. Lange, "*Reines Deutschum*.")

Here were a million people in enforced idleness, on the verge of starvation, shut in between the hostile lines, their roads blockaded, bridges destroyed, railroads cut, isolated from their own markets and sources of supplies. The available food stuffs of Poland were commandeered by the German Government and sent out of the country for the use of the German people. Although the people were starving, all transportation of food from one locality to another was forbidden.

“The Import Co., Ltd.,” took charge of the principal food supply of Poland. This prosperous company, upheld by Prussian force, was soon able to declare a dividend of 140 per cent., while multitudes of the 12,000,000 Poles were starving. The German “War Potato Company” requisitioned the potatoes of Poland. Prussia then seized the monopoly of coal and coke and began the extermination of Polish industry. The metal cylinders and auxiliary machinery of the textile industry were taken away; then stocks of raw materials of oil, lead, sulphur, wool, and cotton were transported. In the factories alone raw materials to the value of more than \$25,000,000 were commandeered. These were sold at a low price to manufacturers in Germany.

One hope remained for the starving Poles. They had their own powerful charity organizations under a Central Committee in Warsaw, with provincial committees for the relief of the nation. In order to drive the starving Poles into Germany, exploit their man power, commandeer their labor, and release German laborers for the fighting force in the trenches, the Prussians now abolished the central and provincial relief committees,

directly causing the starvation and death of thousands. With one stroke of the Prussian sword, there were swept out of existence 200 citizens' committees, 200 wholesale shops with stores for the poor and 300 primary schools. All public educational institutions and libraries were closed, their own police protection was removed, 100 central food distributing bureaus for refugees, twenty hospitals, thirty dispensaries, 150 tea houses for the poor were abolished, and the committee for rebuilding destroyed villages was suppressed.

This successful stroke caused the paralysis of the social life of Poland. Many of the priceless forests were next cut down. The starving population were now almost at the mercy of Prussia, and the whole nation was subjected to systematic temptation. On the one hand they offered high wages if the Poles would work in Germany, and on the other hand, people were forbidden to give them food if they tried to live or work in their own country.

A classmate of the writer, who traveled throughout Poland, saw the notices published by General von Bessler which forbade the giving of food to any Pole who was able to work. Upon asking the general the purpose of this rule he was told that this policy would, by starvation, quickly free the province for German occupation, forcing Polish labor into Germany and enabling them to do in a few months what they had failed to do in many years in German Poland. In some districts traversed by this American he found that all the children under six years of age had perished of starvation. He observed so many little bones of hands

and feet without the larger bones of the skeletons that he asked concerning them and was told by the Prussians that they had used the larger bones to make phosphates. He states that some three millions were on the verge of starvation under this successful Prussian organization.

This is all the more sad because Germany has never been able successfully to rule any other people. In South Africa the Boers, after their recent defeat, were given their liberty by Britain so freely and generously that as soon as this war broke out, instead of seizing the opportunity to rebel, they fought for the British Empire and for the overthrow of the German colonies. But no people has ever enjoyed the Prussian yoke. In Poland, as we have seen, it has produced bitter hatred. Even the Danes in Schleswig-Holstein since 1866 have been so irritated by the Prussian officials, so galled by their restrictions that they have preserved their national feeling against Prussia. In Alsace-Lorraine, in spite of the affinity of language, during all the years since 1871 Prussia has never been able to win the loyalty or love of the majority of the people, and does not even to this day allow the conquered provinces a vote in the Reichstag.

With such a record of Prussian rule, and with the examples of Belgium and Poland before them, what freedom could there be for any conquered people under such a yoke? Are the Poles to pass forever under the crushing weight of Prussian militarism, or is Poland to stand emancipated, a free kingdom, where governments rests upon the consent of the governed?

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This ruthless devastation of Poland was the fourth reason why America was forced to fight.

5. *The Extermination of the Armenians*

Time and again during the last few centuries barbarous atrocities have been perpetrated by the Turkish Government upon the people under their rule, but these have been fitful and sporadic and each time less than 50,000 lives have been sacrificed to the cruelty of an Abdul Hamid and his predecessors, among the Armenians and the oppressed Balkan States.

But Turkey has now been "organized" much more thoroughly under Prussian guidance, and her system has become more comprehensive. Instead of 50,000 lives lost, there have been more than ten times that number. The papers in Turkey have been full of German Kultur. Germany has been publishing colored maps showing the promised future of the Turkish Empire. Large portions of the earth have been divided between Germany and Turkey. According to these maps displayed in all German advertising centers in the Near East, the Turkish Empire is to include Asia Minor, Palestine, Persia, Egypt, much of Africa, and the islands of the Ægean. A Moslem number of *Illustrirte Zeitung* appeared in Turkey, with eighty-six pages of Mohammedan appeal, beginning with a front page illustration inciting the Moslems to the "Holy War." German dominance over Turkey was so complete that Germany could have prevented the massacres of Armenians had it so desired.

There seems to have been such a uniform course followed throughout the Turkish Empire that it points

toward an unmistakable purpose from headquarters. The leading Armenians of each locality, the educated and influential men, were first seized, imprisoned, tortured, and then carried off to be killed. The women and children were rounded up, and driven from their homes into the desert to wander or perish, often without provisions. Of the 2,000,000 Armenians who dwelt in Turkey, it is estimated that about half have perished.

America has always been deeply interested in the Turkish Empire. Its missionaries have been the chief educational factor in that country. Its present missionary investment in plant must exceed \$8,000,000, while 400 American educators and missionaries have given their lives for the uplift of the people within this empire. Largely for the sake of this great philanthropic work, we have refrained from declaring war upon Turkey, knowing that it would mean the further massacre of thousands.

The missionaries report that in one place 1,215 Armenians were driven together and brutally slain by the Turkish gendarmes and released convicts. One of these stated to a professor in the mission college that he had personally killed fifty men with an axe and had obtained \$700 as his share of the loot. One missionary reports: "Women with little children in their arms, or in the last days of pregnancy, were driven along under the whip like cattle. Three different cases came under my knowledge where the woman was delivered on the road, and because her brutal driver hurried her along she died of hemorrhage. . . . These poor exiles were mostly women, children, and old men, and they were

clubbed and beaten and lashed along as though they had been wild animals. The women and girls were daily criminally outraged both by their guards and the ruffians of every village through which they passed, as the former allowed the latter to enter the camp of the exiles, and even distributed the girls among the villagers for the night. . . . Many hundreds have died, from starvation and abuse along the roadside."

Viscount Bryce in his carefully prepared report on "The Treatment of the Armenians" produces the testimony gathered from some hundreds of witnesses, representing eight or ten different nationalities. Let us note first the testimony of the devoted German missionaries who have been laboring for the uplift of the people. Four members of the German Mission's staff in Turkey wrote to the Imperial German Minister of Foreign Affairs at Berlin as follows: "Out of 2,000 to 3,000 peasant women from the Armenian plateau who were brought here in good health, only forty or fifty skeletons are left. The prettier ones are the victims of their gaolers' lust; the plain ones succumb to blows, hunger, and thirst. Every day more than a hundred corpses are carried out of Aleppo. All this happens under the eyes of high Turkish officials. The German scutcheon is in danger of being smirched for ever in the memory of the Near Eastern peoples. We know that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has already, from other sources, received detailed descriptions of what is happening here. But no change has occurred in the system."

The following is from an article appearing in the German *Sonnenaufgang* and in the *Allgemeine Missions-*

Zeitschrift, November, 1915: "Twelve hundred of the most prominent Armenians and other Christians were arrested, 674 of them were embarked on thirteen Tigris barges; the prisoners were stripped of all their money and then of their clothes; after that they were thrown into the river. Five or six priests were stripped naked one day, smeared with tar, and dragged through the streets. For a whole month corpses were observed floating down the River Euphrates, hideously mutilated. The prisons at Biredjik are filled regularly every day and emptied every night into the Euphrates."

A German eye-witness says, "In Moush there are 25,000 Armenians; in the neighborhood there are 300 villages, each containing about 500 houses. In all these not a single male Armenian is now to be seen, and hardly a woman. Every officer boasted of the number he had personally massacred. In Harpout and Mazre the people have had to endure terrible tortures. They have had their eye-brows plucked out, their breasts cut off, their nails torn off; their torturers hew off their feet or else hammer nails into them just as they do in shoeing horses. When they die, the soldiers cry, 'Now let your Christ help you.'"

The following is a memorandum forwarded by a foreign resident at H——: "On the last of June, 3,000 people, mostly women, girls and children, left H—— accompanied by seventy policemen. The policemen many times violated the women openly. Another convoy of exiles joined the party, 18,000 in all. The journey began, and on the way the pretty girls were carried off one by one, while the stragglers from the convoy were

invariably killed. On the fortieth day the convoy came in sight of the Euphrates. Here they saw the bodies of more than 300 men floating in the river. Here the Kurds took from them everything they had, so that for five days the whole convoy marched completely naked under the scorching sun. For another five days they did not have a morsel of bread, nor even a drop of water. They were scorched to death by thirst. Hundreds upon hundreds fell dead on the way, their tongues were turned to charcoal, and when, at the end of five days, they reached a fountain, the whole convoy naturally rushed towards it. But here the policemen barred the way and forbade them to take a single drop of water. At another place where there were wells, some women threw themselves into them, as there was no rope or pail to draw up the water. These women were drowned, the dead bodies still remaining there and stinking in the water, and yet the rest of the people drank from that well. On the sixtieth day, when they reached Viran Shehr, only 300 exiles remained out of all the 18,000. On the sixty-fourth day they gathered together all the men and sick women and children and burned and killed them all. On the seventieth day, when they reached Aleppo, there were left 150 women and children out of the whole convoy of 18,000."

To get the full force of the atrocities one should read the voluminous report of Viscount Bryce on "The Treatment of Armenians." Such has been the systematic and organized policy of the Turkish government, under German control. Germany could have prevented this if she would. Here, where Americans had for half

a century spent millions of dollars and many lives for the uplift of an oppressed people, after the failure of all the protests and entreaties of our diplomacy, we are faced with the fifth reason why America was forced to fight—the extermination of the Armenians.

6. *The German Atrocities*

In atrocities, as in other departments of war, Germany does not work by impulse. Here we have the practical carrying out of her well-defined scientific theories.

The German War Book states that the army should “*seek to destroy the total intellectual and material resources*”⁴ of the enemy state. Prussia seems to have endeavored to execute this theory, scientifically and exhaustively.

In the present war, Germany has swept aside the conventions of centuries. Civilians have been slaughtered, priests have been murdered, innocent hostages in large numbers have been seized and shot in cold blood, more women have been outraged than in any previous war, aged men have been killed, and infants have been

⁴ Clausewitz, the noted German authority on the subject of war, says: “The laws of war are self-imposed restrictions, almost imperceptible, and hardly worth mentioning. . . . War is an act of violence which in its application *knows no bounds*.” He defined requisitions as “Seizing of everything which is to be found in the country. . . . Requisition should be enforced by the fear of responsibility, punishment, and ill treatment, by which in such cases it presses like a general weight on the whole population. . . . This resort has no limits except *the exhaustion, impoverishment, and devastation of the whole country*.” (“*Vom Kriege*” I. Kap. I. (2), V. Kap. 14 (3).

murdered and mutilated. The proof of these statements rests upon the testimony of thousands of accredited witnesses, German, American, British, French, Belgian, and those of neutral nations. It seems to the writer that the evidence of the diaries of the German soldiers goes to show that Belgian civilians sometimes did fire upon their enemies, which is not surprising in the defence of their own homes. But in other cases, if one or two shots were fired in the vicinity of a village, whether by civilians or by the retreating French army, or by drunken German soldiers, the whole village was at once placed in peril. The Belgians were held guilty unless they could prove their innocence, as was the case in Armantiers, which the writer visited. Many were shot without being allowed the opportunity to clear themselves, as is shown by the diaries of German soldiers themselves.

The writer visited Bailleul, which the German Hussars had occupied in October, 1914. No resistance whatever was offered by the inhabitants to the German troops, yet civilians were taken in groups, and after being forced to dig their own graves, were shot by firing parties in the presence of an officer. A young mother who was unable to make sufficient coffee to supply twenty-three German soldiers, had her baby seized by one of them and placed in scalding water. An old man nearby who attempted to protect two women in his house from outrage was murdered.

While the Hussars occupied Bailleul for eight days the whole town was given over to licentious excesses. There were at least thirty cases of outraged girls. Daughters were outraged in the presence of their

mothers, and mothers in the presence of their little children. In one case a young girl of nineteen was violated by one officer, while another held her mother by the throat and pointed a revolver at her, after which the officers exchanged rôles. Any civilian who attempted to protect his wife or daughter was killed.

The finest châteaux and private dwellings where German officers were quartered were often left in a state of beastly pollution, the beds, the upholstery, and the floors being used as latrines. The hundreds of carefully attested cases of the mutilation of women and children have almost no parallel in history, apart from the Turks, and the Huns of old.

Near Richebourg l'Avoué, the British soldiers heard a woman's shrieks during the night behind the German lines; when they advanced in the morning and drove the Germans out, a girl was found lying naked, staked out upon the ground in the form of a crucifix.

The report of the British Committee on Alleged German Atrocities, under Lord Bryce, after examining many hundreds of witnesses and publishing the diaries of more than ninety German soldiers, concludes that in many parts of Belgium there was deliberate and systematic organized massacre of the civil population, that innocent civilians, men, women, and children were murdered, that large numbers of women were violated, that the wanton destruction of property was ordered and countenanced by officers, and that the usages of war were frequently broken with regard to the civil population (p. 60).

From hundreds of similar witnesses from many parts of Belgium and Northern France, only a single typical

testimony will be given by a British non-commissioned officer, during the retirement of the Germans after their defeat on the Marne on September 17th: "We were searching a village for a patrol of Uhlans at 3:30 p. m., a small village of about fifty houses, and we found them in a house. On the ground floor there were ten Uhlans who immediately put up their hands and we took them prisoners. I searched the house; everything was in disorder. On the floor in the corner near the fireplace I saw two women and two children, the ages of the former apparently about twenty-five or thirty. One was dead, the one I judged to be the elder. Her left arm had been cut off just below the elbow. The floor was covered with blood. * * * The younger woman was just alive but quite unconscious. Her right leg had been cut off above the knee. As she was on the point of death I could not summon assistance quickly enough even to stop the bleeding; I was sure she was beyond assistance then. There were two little children, a boy about four or five, and a girl of about six or seven. The boy's left hand was cut off at the wrist, and the girl's right hand at the same place. They were both quite dead and appeared to have died of hemorrhage too." (Bryce Report, p. 156.)

"The German troops in Dinant set out to pillage and shoot. They drove the people into the streets and set fire to their houses. Those who tried to run away were shot down in their tracks. The congregation was taken from the church and fifty of them were shot. All the civilians who could be rounded up were driven into the big square and kept there until evening. About six

o'clock the women were lined up on one side of the square and kept in line by soldiers. On the other side, the men were lined up along a wall in two rows, the first kneeling. Then under command of the officers two volleys were fired into them. The dead and wounded were left together until the Germans got around to burying them. Those killed ranged in age from Felix Fivet, aged three weeks, to an old woman named Jadot, who was eighty."⁵

A perusal of the report of the French Commission of Inquiry, and of the report of the Belgian Commission reveals the following facts:

"In Belgium alone it has been proved that up to the present more than 5,000 civilians have been assassinated. At Louvain, more than 100 victims; at Aerschot, over 150; at Soumagne, 165; at Etbe, 197; at Andenne, over 300; at Tamines, 400; at Dinant, upwards of 600, of whom seventy-one were women, thirty-four old men of over seventy, six children from five to nine years old, and eleven under five. In Belgium about one hundred of the clergy were massacred, thirty-seven being shot in the small parishes, while more than 150 disappeared altogether from large towns. Outrages upon women and young girls have been common to an unheard-of extent. Even nuns were not respected."

The fact of the German atrocities, unbelievable as they seemed at first, but continued, cumulative, and attested in so many hundreds of cases by unimpeachable evidence, formed the sixth reason which made America feel that she was forced to fight.

⁵ N. Y. *Tribune*, Nov. 17, 18, Dec. 6, 1917.

7. *The Sinking of the "Lusitania"*

The case of the "Lusitania" was important because, like that of Belgium, it was typical. It showed what Germany would do at sea, as Belgium had revealed her policy on land. On May 1, 1915, the Cunard passenger steamer "Lusitania" sailed from New York with nearly 2,000 passengers. The day before, the German Embassy had sent out a printed notice of warning against taking passage on ships entering the danger zone. Anonymous letters were also received by passengers, stating that the "Lusitania" would be blown up.

On May 7th, just off the coast of Ireland, the periscope of a submarine was sighted and two torpedoes followed in quick succession. Within a quarter of an hour the vessel was sunk and 1,100 passengers had perished, including over one hundred American citizens. The "Lusitania" was a privately owned, unarmed passenger ship. Her sister ship, the "Mauretania," was in the employ of the British Admiralty. Photographs of her sister ship, the "Mauretania," mounted with guns but with the name "Lusitania" printed under it, were circulated by the Germans in countries as distant as India, and many devout Germans believe that they have seen with their own eyes evidences that the "Lusitania" was armed. The American Government formally and officially ascertained before the vessel sailed that she was unarmed, and this fact was clearly stated by President Wilson. The vessel was carrying a large quantity of munitions, but this was in no way illegal. The killing of neutral non-combatants and the sinking of a passenger ship without warning is not in any way excused or

palliated by the character of the cargo which she carries. President Wilson clearly pointed out through the Secretary of State that "no warning that an unlawful and inhumane act will be committed can possibly be accepted as an excuse or palliation for that act."

The "Lusitania" incident does not stand alone. Up to April, 1917, when America entered the war, Germany had already sunk more than 800 neutral vessels. In addition to ships of four South American countries, the number of neutral vessels sunk were as follows: American 20, Spanish 35, Greek 60, Dutch 76, Swedish 101, Danish 114, Norwegian 436. Peaceful Norway alone officially stated that more than 5,000 of her sailors have already been lost during the war. Neutral nations have never so suffered in any previous war at the hands of a belligerent.

Is this the freedom of the seas for which Germany has been contending? In a single week, yes, in a single day, we have lost more lives, suffered more injustice and greater injury from Germany, than we have from Great Britain in the last three hundred years, since she delivered civilization from the Spanish Armada and tried to maintain the freedom of the seas. British restrictions have sometimes been oppressive, but these could always be submitted to arbitration and peaceful settlement. Germany has shown during the last three years what freedom of the seas, what freedom of the land, what freedom of the world, there would be under her domination.

This sinking of the "Lusitania," followed by more than 849 neutral vessels, our own included, was the

seventh reason which forced America, against her will, into the present conflict.

8. *The Violation of American Rights and Property*

The cases of German violation of American rights and property were so numerous and frequent as, time and again, to justify war. The Committee of Foreign Affairs, in the House of Representatives, as we have seen, had listed on its formal records, before the declaration of war, twenty-one crimes and unfriendly acts committed with the connivance of the German Government, within the boundaries of the United States. Attempts were made to blow up bridges, and plots were discovered to destroy factories. Five different conspiracies were revealed for the manufacture and placing of bombs on ships leaving American ports, in open defiance of our laws. Newspapers in this country were financed for the conduct of German propaganda among our people. German spies were equipped with forged American passports and sent to work in foreign countries. A fraudulent passport office under the supervision of Captain von Papen of the German Embassy was discovered. Hindus in the United States were incited to stir up revolution in India, and were supplied with funds to carry out these projects, in spite of our neutrality laws.

These plots culminated in the famous Zimmermann note of the German Foreign Minister, at the very time we were striving for a league of nations to ensure peace. A conspiracy was discovered to involve us in war with Mexico, offering her financial support to enable her to

recover New Mexico, Texas, and Arizona. Zimmermann admitted the authenticity of this note. The text is as follows:

“Berlin, Jan. 19, 1917.

“On the first of February we intend to begin submarine warfare unrestricted. In spite of this, it is our intention to endeavor to keep neutral the United States of America.

“If this attempt is not successful, we propose an alliance on the following basis with Mexico: That we shall make war together and together make peace. We shall give general financial support, and it is understood that Mexico is to reconquer the lost territory in New Mexico, Texas, and Arizona. The details are left to you for settlement.

“You are instructed to inform the President of Mexico of the above, in the greatest confidence, as soon as it is certain that there will be an outbreak of war with the United States, and suggest that the President of Mexico, on his own initiative, should communicate with Japan suggesting adherence at once to this plan. At the same time, offer to mediate between Germany and Japan.

“Please call to the attention of the President of Mexico that the employment of ruthless submarine warfare now promises to compel England to make peace in a few months.

“ZIMMERMANN.”

Immediately following these plots, Germany continued to commit overt acts, which seemed designed to insult us with every open indignity, and to drag us into the

war against our will. Shortly after the Mexican plot, the "Laconia" was sunk, two Americans being lost, among others. Several days later the "Algonquin" was torpedoed and the fourteen Americans who were members of the crew had to spend twenty-six hours in open boats. A week later three more American ships were sunk. The "City of Memphis," which was plainly marked with the American flag, and with letters that could be read three miles away, was sent to the bottom, as she was returning to New York without cargo, and three more Americans on board were killed. The "Vigilancia" was torpedoed without warning and fifteen of the crew lost their lives.

The memorandum prepared by the Department of State and published in the Record of the 65th Congress shows that before the declaration of war, seventeen American ships had been damaged or destroyed by German submarines, and thirty-three other ships had been sunk with the loss of American lives.

For causes far less than these, we had twice gone to war against England. The United States has never stood from England one-tenth of the indignity heaped upon her by Germany. Let any fair-minded German ask himself whether his own nation, with its long contention for the freedom of the seas, would have allowed America or England or any other nation to destroy or damage seventeen of its ships, to cause loss of life to German subjects on thirty-three other vessels, and to sink more than 800 neutral ships before its eyes, without going to war.

This was the eighth reason, cumulative and irresistible,

which drove America into the war, and made her feel that she was forced to fight.

9. *The German Spy System*

This German spy system is the most efficient and remarkable in the world. It is carried out according to well-defined plans, clearly stated in the German War Book.⁶

This elaborate system of espionage has been developed from the days of Frederick the Great, who went to war "with one cook and one hundred spies." Bismarck later discovered the man who developed the system scientifically, Stieber, "the king of sleuth-hounds." Before the Franco-Prussian War this genius had filled France with an army of 30,000 spies. Stieber himself waited on the French Minister in the guise of a valet, and systematically went through his pockets and papers. His men had invaded Paris by "cunning" long before the army arrived with "violence."

⁶ "The means of conducting war . . . may be summarized in the two ideas of Violence and Cunning, and judgment as to their applicability may be embodied in the following proposition: What is permissible includes every means of war without which the object of the war cannot be obtained" (p. 64).

"Bribery of the enemy's subjects with the object of obtaining military advantages, acceptance of offers of treachery, reception of deserters, utilization of the discontented elements in the population, support of pretenders and the like, are permissible. Indeed, international law is in no way opposed to the exploitation of the crimes of third parties (assassination, incendiarism, robbery, and the like) to the prejudice of the enemy. . . . Considerations of chivalry, generosity, and honor may denounce in such cases a hasty and unsparing exploitation of such advantages as indecent and dishonorable, but law which is less touchy allows it. The ugly and inherent immoral aspects of such methods cannot affect the recognition of their lawfulness" (pp. 85, 86).

Stieber's system of forty-five years ago has been maintained and expanded in modern times. In America before the war broke out we were finally compelled in disgust to dismiss the Austrian Ambassador, Dr. Dumba, after finding his letters reporting his plans to bring about disturbances in the Bethlehem Steel Works, etc. Von Papen and von Igel supervised the making of incendiary bombs on the "Friedrich der Grosse" in New York harbor, and placed them secretly on outgoing ships. Their papers are held by our Government with von Papen's check for \$150 made out to König in payment to a bomb-maker. Robert Fay's confession in court, and that of his partner, showed that they had received money from the German secret police for placing their bombs and diabolical machines in the coal bunkers, or affixing them to the rudder posts of various steamers leaving American ports.

Our Government holds and published the telegram dated January 22, 1917, from von Bernstorff, asking his Government for authority to spend an additional \$50,000 "in order, as on former occasions, to influence Congress through the organization you know of." Dr. Dernburg was going up and down the country extending the propaganda. Captain Boy-Ed, von Rintelen, Tauscher, and others connected with the German Government were busy in their work of espionage and destruction. A check for \$5,000 was discovered which Count von Bernstorff had sent to subsidize the editor of *Fair Play*, and also a letter which the editor of the *Fatherland* had sent to the German agent, Albert, arranging for a monthly payment of \$1,750 to be delivered to him secretly

through women whose names he abbreviated "to prevent any possible enquiry."

Finally, the German agents spent \$600,000 in the attempt to start a revolution in Mexico and to embroil her in war with the United States.

All of the above-mentioned are only a small fraction of the widespread work carried on by hundreds of the paid agents of the Prussian spy system. And what was being done in the United States was only a fair sample of the dragon's teeth they were sowing broadcast throughout the world. We have evidence and conclusive proof in our State Department of the work of German spies in Latin America and Japan. The people were incited to insurrection in Cuba, Haiti, and Santo Domingo, and throughout South America there was an effort to stir up antagonism and bitterness against the United States. Taken together, these operations of Germany were a direct assault upon the Monroe Doctrine.

One German document, bearing the date of March 19, 1913, is a sample of how they were working just before the war in other parts of the world: "We must stir up trouble in the north of Africa and in Russia. It is a means of keeping the forces of the enemy engaged. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary that we should open up relations, by means of well-chosen agents, with influential people in Egypt, Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco, in order to prepare the measures which would be necessary in the case of a European war."

When the United States Government asked for the recall of the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador and the German military and naval attachés, their Governments

offered no apology nor excuse, they issued no reprimand. Von Bernstorff was honored and decorated and other agents were rewarded for their successful intrigue. It became growingly clear to the United States that this part of a settled policy of "cunning" and that this theory of the German War Book was now being definitely carried out in practice.

When the evidence was all taken together, and added to the repeated violation of American rights and property, with the combined policy of intrigue and violence on sea and land, President Wilson finally went before Congress and asked that war be declared, saying: "One of the things that has served to convince us that the Prussian autocracy was not and could never be our friend is that from the very outset of the present war it has filled our unsuspecting communities, and even our offices of government, with spies, and set criminal intrigues everywhere afoot."

It was the malicious cunning of this spy system that furnished the ninth reason why America was driven toward war.

10. *Germany's Indiscriminate Submarine Warfare*

While the American people were filled with horror at Germany's treatment of Belgium, Poland, and the people of Armenia, and at her method of land warfare, it was her submarine policy that brought about nearly all the trouble between the Government of the United States and Germany.

At the beginning of the war, on December 24, 1914, Admiral von Tirpitz threw out hints in the press

of his new submarine policy of wholesale destruction and asked, "What will America think?" This was before the English blockade was causing the Germans any serious food problem. On February 4, 1915, the Germans proclaimed a war zone, within which any ship could be sunk unwarned. America, under this German "freedom of the seas," was to be allowed to send to a port designated by Germany, one ship a week painted with the abject convict stripes of servility to the German policy of terror.

President Wilson replied to the German Government (February 10, 1915) that it would be held "to strict accountability" if American rights were violated and American ships sunk. On May 7th the "Lusitania" was sunk. Probably no event in modern history did more to make public opinion. The whole civilized world was filled with horror, and literally hundreds of millions of the people of the globe were turned against Prussia's policy. All the world looked on at this diabolical scene, "as the huge ship went under and the water became black with men and women struggling for their lives, with little children full of terror but who hardly realized the terrible fate before them."

It is an interesting point of German psychology that while the whole world was filled with horror, Germany was jubilant. "The sinking of the great British steamer is a success, *the moral significance of which* is still greater than the material success. With joyful pride we contemplate this latest deed of our navy and trust it will not be the last."⁷

⁷ *Kolnische Zeitung*, May 10, 1915. S. S. McClure says, "I

President Wilson's three "Lusitania" notes failed to obtain any satisfaction from Germany, but finally on August 10th, Count von Bernstorff gave an oral pledge for the German Government that they would not in the future sink liners without warning. Contrary to this pledge, however, the "Sussex" was sunk (March 24, 1916), a passenger vessel with Americans on board. As war was threatened, Germany grudgingly gave her promise (May 4, 1916) that in the future they would not sink ships without warning.

Finally, however, Germany tore up her last scrap of paper, and her last promise (January 31, 1917) and proclaimed her new "unrestricted submarine war." The German Chancellor stated to the Imperial Diet that the reason why this ruthless course had not been employed earlier was that the Government had not been ready to act. As soon as a sufficient number of submarines were prepared, the blow was launched and the last pledge broken. Under the mask of friendship and the cloak of false pretense, Germany had been preparing for months to break with America and the world's public opinion. In all, before America was driven to war, more than thirty ships had been sunk, involving the loss of American lives, and 226 American citizens, men, women, and children, had perished.

Germany's piratical submarine policy was now completely revealed. Enemy vessels and neutral vessels, freighters and liners, hospital ships and those carrying

found no one in Germany who did not most heartily and completely approve the sinking of the 'Lusitania.'"—"Obstacles to Peace," pp. 134, 144.

cargos for the relief of the starving Belgians all alike were sunk. If a man like Captain Fryatt attempted in self-defence to ram a submarine which was attacking him, he was condemned to death and shot as a pirate. The execution of Captain Fryatt was in accordance with Germany's new rules of submarine warfare, but it was against the law of all civilized nations, for there is nothing in the law or practice of nations to prevent a merchant vessel from defending itself from attack and capture. Since every boat was of possible help to her enemies, Germany has deliberately attempted to sink the world's shipping, and so far succeeded, that at the height of her submarine warfare, she was destroying vessels at the rate of one-quarter of the world's shipping each year.

Prussia thus places herself squarely against the civilized world. To meet her needs, she will conquer, crush, terrorize, and starve nations like Belgium and Poland and deport their population; she will attempt to sink the entire shipping of the world, to carry out the cynical purpose of autocratic militarism. And yet the amazing thing about the German psychology is that she still protests that she is fighting for "the freedom of the seas"!

As the tearing up of the Belgian treaty had marked the beginning of the war, this tearing up of her last pledge and promise, her last "scrap of paper," was the tenth and final reason for uniting American public opinion in the conviction that we were *forced to fight*.

PART III

THE MENACE OF IRRESPONSIBLE
AUTOCRACY

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AUTOCRACY

GERMANY is like Goethe's "Faust," who calls in the Evil One for the trouble of his soul, and turns from his student's vocation to live the lower life of the world he had once despised. So the German nation, which had once enriched the world in philosophy and science, literature and art, in its religious life and social organization, has, for the time being, apparently sold its birth-right for the mess of pottage of Prussian militarism.

We cannot understand the present without the background of the past from which it has developed. Who are these people that have sprung from the warring German tribes which fought with Cæsar and conquered Rome? What is this dynasty, arising more than ten centuries ago from a feudal count, whose thundering armies now challenge the world?

More than a thousand years ago this obscure feudal count built his castle on the Zollern Hill in the Swabian Alps. From him the now famous and powerful house of Hohenzollern traces its descent. His descendants were long of small consequence in the world, but in 1415 Frederick VI. received the investiture of the electorate of Brandenburg. In his person the very humble house of Hohenzollern became a reigning

dynasty, and early set itself the task of extending the narrow limits of its sway.

By stern discipline, by industrious labor and military conquest, by alternate diplomacy and force, by a strange combination of moral earnestness and duplicity, the rulers of the Mark of Brandenburg made the Kingdom of Prussia and strengthened it, until they have forged a tool wherewith to challenge the dominion of the world. Ten centuries ago a Hohenzollern count ruled a barren hill in Swabia; three centuries ago Prussia had a population of scarce a million and only the significance of a minor Balkan state; today Prussia controls the political, economic, and military power of modern Germany, and has well-nigh disrupted the world.

Five men have been the real makers of Prussia: "The Great Elector" (1640-1688) prepared the ground for the Prussian state; Frederick William I (1713-1740) laid the foundations of Prussian militarism; Frederick the Great (1740-1786) began the edifice of modern Prussia; Bismarck (1862-1890), the real ruler of his day, was the creator of the German Empire; Kaiser William II. (1888-—) sought to make Prussianized Germany the dominant world power.

The Great Elector came to the throne in 1640. A thorough autocrat and militarist, a man of great native ability, he raised the first Hohenzollern army of 3,000 men, which he later increased to the most efficient army in Europe, in spite of the protests of his subjects.

Frederick William I (1713-1740) was the great organizer and disciplinarian, who laid the foundations for Prussia. Uneducated, lacking the finer qualities,

boorish and coarse, he was yet a man of such native ability, terrific energy, determined industry, and systematic order that he fashioned a strong army and state. A born autocrat, he became his own field-marshal, minister of finance and of every other department of government, and controller of Church and State. He prohibited all newspapers in Berlin and crushed out all manifestations of independence or self-government. Rising at three or four o'clock in the morning and toiling until late at night, this giant of energy drilled and disciplined what came to be the best army in the world. He increased his forces from 38,000 to 83,000 men, and his Giant Guards were the pride of his heart. He trained the Prussian bureaucracy and made it the ablest and most efficient in Europe. He despised philosophy, science, and art, scorned higher education, and made the Prussia of his day a land of boors and soldiers. Yet he was the first to introduce compulsory primary education, and partly through his influence the Germans are today one of the best educated people in Europe.

Frederick the Great (1740-1786) inherited the splendid army system and government of his military father. Like his two predecessors, he was a believer in unlimited absolutism. He conceived autocratic power as a trust, and crushed all opposition, forging Prussia into a fighting force, until its whole civil life was militarized to fulfil his ambitions. The most gifted, versatile, and brilliant of all Prussian monarchs, he was at once strategist, diplomatist, economist, financier, administrator, and organizer. He rose at four in the morning, summer and winter, and within a quarter of an

hour was at his desk hard at work. Acting as his own diplomat and general, by combining strategy and force, he lifted Prussia into the front rank of European powers. A great financier, he had a "war chest" ready in advance to finance a four years' campaign. Like his ancestors, he, too, crushed out all efforts at self-government and independence, and for centuries placed the stamp of autocracy upon Prussia.

Having forged his army, Frederick carried out rapid campaigns, striking swiftly before the unsuspecting nations around him were well aware of his designs. Without the least excuse he first invaded Silesia, an Austrian province, proclaiming to the inhabitants that he had come as the real protector of Austria and in its interest. He alone was ready and mobilized, the other nations of Europe were unprepared. He said: "He is a fool, and that nation is a fool, who having the power to strike his enemy unawares does not strike and strike his deadliest." And this doctrine he faithfully carried out. He embroiled Europe in wars which lasted for a quarter of a century. He also began the partition of Poland.

He feared Austria's growing power, and again attacked her by invading Saxony, on the ground that circumstances compelled him to enter the country that way, saying that "nothing but the absolute necessity of affairs" made him take this step. Seizing the archives of Dresden, he claimed that he had discovered a "plot" against him and proclaimed to the world that the war had been forced upon him as an innocent victim. In his "History of My Times" he says that treaties may

be broken when necessity compels one, and that a sovereign must be guided by the interest of the state. By conquest Frederick again nearly doubled Prussia's territory and population. Prussia became the professional militaristic state, the others were unprepared amateurs. His methods, his success, and his writings largely shaped the policies of Bismarck, William II, and modern Germany.

Bismarck (1871-1890), the Creator of the Prussianized German Empire. When Bismarck became Prussian minister in 1862, Germany was a mere geographical expression. Prussia itself was weak and divided, with a feeble population of only some 18,000,000 people. Bismarck deliberately aimed at a great and united Germany, organized on the ideals of Frederick the Great, but utilizing the scientific discoveries of the twentieth century.

By three aggressive wars, so carefully planned that they seemed inevitable and defensive, by conquest and organization, he forged the modern German state. He consistently carried out his policy frankly announced to the Prussian Diet: "The unity of Germany will never be realized by speeches and votes, but by blood and iron."

In 1864 he made war on Denmark, taking Schleswig-Holstein and Kiel and placing Germany upon the sea, ready for world enterprise. In 1866 he defeated Austria and made Prussia the dominant power in Germany. In 1870-71 he drew France into the Franco-Prussian war, crushed her power, added the rich provinces of Alsace-Lorraine to the German Empire—thus quadrupling her

production of iron ore—and took an indemnity of a billion dollars in cash. In the great hall at Versailles he had the King of Prussia crowned as German Emperor. Carrying out his stern policies against the will of the people, ruling for long periods without a parliament, unsupported by popular sentiment, collecting his taxes by force, Bismarck largely destroyed the remnant of democracy in Germany and built up a powerful, united and patriotic empire. The Germans emerged from the Franco-Prussian war a unified people, burning with a new-found patriotism for the fatherland and the conquering Kaiser, but their costly success was founded on three victorious wars. It was the triumph of autocratic militarism, which had now become part of the nation's life.

Kaiser William II (1888—). The Dream of World Dominion, and the World War. Kaiser William II came to the throne on June 15, 1888. He is one of the most brilliant and versatile of Prussia's famous rulers and has carried forward the military traditions and aspirations of the great Hohenzollern family.

Bismarck had made Germany supreme in continental Europe. The young Kaiser now turned his eyes abroad to dominions overseas and a wider world empire. Within two years he dismissed the more conservative Bismarck, and taking sole command, he launched into the deep of his world ambition.

There was a different note in the Kaiser's speeches after 1895, and by 1900 the new naval policy was announced and the race for armaments on land and sea was in full swing. The Kaiser believed himself to be

king "by the grace of God," and the traditions of the Cæsars of the Holy Roman Empire and their ambitious dreams were now revived.

As we glance over the historical background for many centuries during the rise of Prussia, it seems to be the logical development of a tradition of military autocracy. According to this theory, the State is power. It exists not for its citizens, but the citizens for it. The State is supreme, and acknowledges no law above itself. Might makes right and war must determine a nation's destiny. The King governs by divine right and the people by divine obligation should obey him. The survival of the Prussian medieval conception of the rule of the State rises in direct conflict with the rule of law in modern democracy.

In the foregoing pages we have stated ten reasons why America was forced to fight. These are not independent or isolated causes, but the hydra-headed manifestation of a single power and principle. They are all gathered up in the menace of irresponsible autocracy. As we view these things, in the last analysis we find that there are two conflicting principles, two theories of government, two conceptions of life, which are contending for the mastery in the world today; and between these two principles there can be no compromise.

It has been officially and repeatedly stated that our conflict here is not with the German people. We do not for a moment claim that all evil resides in them and all virtue in ourselves; or that we are all right and that they are all wrong. We do not maintain the spotless innocence of the Allied nations; we do not deny

the atrocities in Eastern Germany, or the reprisals which have been committed by the Allied armies. We do not attempt to deny or to excuse the faults, the wrongs, the sins, the seams of weakness in our own national life or in the Allied nations, but we do claim that there is a clear-cut fundamental issue before the world today. There is an ineradicable distinction between right and wrong, between darkness and light. We believe that the world is now confronted by the deadly menace of Prussian militarism. This stands for a certain theory of life; it is based upon fundamental principles, and it carries these out with scientific precision to the disturbance of the world's peace.

What is this theory of Prussian militarism? As we have seen, it represents the State as power, as organized might, which stands in complete independence of, and in competition with, all other states. It would conquer by ruthless force, on land and sea, all nations that withstand its claim and sway. The world's shipping, the world's welfare, the world's peace must be swept aside or crushed if competing nations resist its autocratic rule. It holds sway over every citizen's life and conscience. Its claim is absolute and rests upon "divine right."

Against this theory of the State stands another conception. It holds that the nation is but one member of the great body of the unity of nations, making up the brotherhood of man, under the sole dominance of the loving Fatherhood of God. As individual members of our nation and of the world brotherhood, each must serve in friendly cooperation for the good of all and the welfare of the world, which must be made safe for

democracy. Under this conception governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.⁹

Here are two forces in conflict. Each man, each nation, must choose between them. Let us clearly face these two conflicting theories of life; let them stand over against one another in visible contrast, without any blurring, blotting, or overlapping:

TWO CONCEPTIONS OF LIFE

An absolute autocracy which claims the world.	A brotherhood of men cooperating to make the world safe for democracy.
Autocracy claims that the people exist for the government.	Democracy maintains that governments exist for the people.
Autocracy holds that might makes right; that conquerors rule.	Democracy maintains that right makes might; the moral order is supreme.
Autocracy is based on the lawless supremacy of the nationalistic state.	Democracy is based on the supremacy of law.

⁹ As President Wilson said on July 4, 1918, "What we seek is the reign of law based upon the consent of the governed and sustained by the organized opinion of mankind."

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most like to effect their safety and happiness." (From the Declaration of Independence.)

Militarism is based upon a materialistic interpretation of the universe.

Lasting peace is based on righteousness, upon a spiritual interpretation of the universe.

Existence is controlled by the single law of the struggle for life.

Life's fulfilment is in the higher law of the struggle for the life of others.

Life means the survival of the fittest.

Love seeks to make men fit to survive.

Selfishness is the law of life; the nation exists for itself.

Service is the law of life; the individual and the nation exist for the glory of God and the welfare of man.

Wrong may be condoned; "necessity knows no law."

Right is absolute; wrong can have no necessity.

The sway of Mammon is supreme.

The goal of humanity is the Kingdom of God.

War is the chief glory of a nation, and Europe is drenched in blood on the red battlefields of militarism.

The Cross stands red in sacrifice of a divine life laid down in the saving and serving of men.

At the door of Prussian militarism we lay the guilt of this "wrong" that they are committing. We lay before them the six million dead, killed in this bloody war, the dead of the victimized German people as well as our own. We lay before them the four million who have perished in the famine and disease, the violation and murder in the devastated nations, amid the smoking ruins which Prussian militarism has left in its train. We lay before them the five million prisoners of war,

with all their weakened and broken men, the diseased and the insane. We lay before them the nearly twenty millions who have been wounded and who have suffered on hospital beds of pain in the weary course of this war. We point to an impoverished world, which has been spending \$130,000,000 a day, or more than \$100,000 a minute, as the cost of Prussian militarism's drain upon humanity.

We would that the wail of violated Belgium, the cries of perishing Poland, the last pleadings of the million Armenians, who have been tortured, murdered, or done to death, might reach their ears. We would place before them the long line of smoking cities and the endless chain of their atrocities on land, with the women and children and strong men on the hundreds of helpless ships that have been sunk at sea. We would omit even the mention of the violation of our own rights and property, but we would place before them the wreckage of a world's commerce, the destruction of a world's peace, and the hell of a world war.

These are the things that have united the conscience of the world, in one burning unit of indignation, against the loathed menace of Prussian militarism. As we stand faced by the challenge of this issue, America utters with one voice the words of President Wilson, "For us there is but one choice. We have made it. Woe be to the man or group of men that seeks to stand in our way in this day of high resolution, when every principle we hold dearest is to be vindicated and made secure for the salvation of the nations."

The die is cast and the war is on. Let it be clearly

recognized that there can be no slurring of issues now. There can be no compromise between darkness and light, between wrong and right, between defeat and victory. There is no such thing as moral neutrality, no such thing as a Prussian peace. There is really no possibility of a draw or a compromise in the present struggle.

Let us suppose that we stop now and try to make peace. What is the situation? Prussian autocracy holds today almost all that she set out to gain in the present war. She holds Belgium, one of the richest industrial centers of the world; she holds the heart of France with her best mining and manufacturing areas. She holds the industries of Poland, the granary and oil fields of Roumania, the best manufacturing districts of Russia and the approach to her capital. She dominates the Balkan corridor to the Near East and the access to Egypt and India. She holds naval bases opposite the coast of England, where she can strike at the heart of Britain within six hours in the darkness of a single night. She holds the solid Central Empires and the crushed unity of 176,000,000 people. She holds standing ground for the next and last war, where she may make the complete conquest of the world's liberty.

Let there be no evasion of this issue. As Ambassador Gerard says: "Unless Germany is beaten, the whole world will be compelled to turn itself into an armed camp, until the Germany autocracy either brings every nation under its dominion, or is forever wiped out as a form of government."¹⁰ In closing we would repeat

¹⁰ Mr. Gerard continues: "Why must the people in old Poland die of hunger, not finding dogs enough to eat in the streets of

the words of the British Premier: "*There is no half-way house between victory and defeat.*"

Lemberg? The long lines of broken peasants in Serbia and in Roumania; the population of Belgium and Northern France torn from their homes to work as slaves for the Germans; the poor prisoners of war starving in their huts or working in factories and mines; the cries of the old and the children, wounded by bombs from Zeppelins; the wails of the mothers for their sons; the very rustling of the air as the souls of the ten million dead sweep to another world—why must all these horrors come upon a fair green earth, where we believed that love and help and friendship, genius and science and commerce, religion and civilization, once ruled? It is because in the dark, cold Northern plains of Germany there exists an autocracy, deceiving a great people, poisoning their minds from one generation to another and preaching the virtue and necessity of war; and until that autocracy is either wiped out or made powerless, there can be no peace on earth."—"My Four Years in Germany," pp. X, 431, 432.

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